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NEHRU SEEKS ASIAN NEUTRALITY IN COLD WAR

Brotherhood has no place in Christianity

U.S. CHAPLAIN STARTLES RELIGIOUS LEADERS

A THREE-DAY Conference for religious leaders was held in America's War Office, the Pentagon, Washington, early this year.

Called an "Orientation Conference," it was addressed by members of the US Government, five generals of the army, four generals of the airforce, two admirals, one general of the marine corps, and two colonels. Six of these officers were chaplains in positions of major responsibility.

The biggest sensation during the conference was caused by an essay in theology by an Assistant Chaplain, writes Dr. John R. Wilkins in the Christian Century.

"Your objective is to kill"

A delegate from California asked: "There is a basic dilemma in my thinking that I have never been able to resolve. May I present the problem and ask for assistance in helping to resolve the dilemma? As religious leaders we spend years training children and youth, yet many of these principles are in contradiction to the conditions of war and the objectives of military training.

"We teach that all human beings are children of the Creator, yet war segregates them into opposing camps. We teach love, but war engenders hate as part of its process. We teach youth to build, but by the statement of one of your leaders youth are taught to destroy as a military objective. We teach to save life, but your objective is to kill.

"These objectives of our teaching are basic values that we do not care to relinquish. How can these be conserved through military service?"

An acting chaplain arose and offered to give an answer.

Homicide, not murder

"We handle this question in this manner," he said. "The word 'kill' in the commandment 'Thou shalt not kill' has two meanings, one 'murder' and the other 'homicide.' Where there is intent and planning by an individual, the killing becomes murder and is therefore a sin. When the killing is upon orders of others, however, it is homicide and does not violate the commandment.

"As far as the idea of brotherhood is concerned, that is a carryover from Stoic philosophy and has no place in the New Testament teaching."

One professor from a theological school asked: "Did I hear correctly to the effect that the New Testament does not teach brotherhood? That isn't my understanding of the New Testament."

The meeting was shortly adjourned, "but you can imagine the confusion in the hallways following such a statement," writes Dr. Wilkins.

The acting chaplain who answered the question has now been assigned to an important post in the Air Force!

Church of Ireland refuses to discuss conscription

THE Synod of the (Protestant) Church of Ireland held in Dublin last month refused to discuss a resolution requesting the House of Bishops to appoint a commission to study afresh the Christian attitude to war and military conscription of young people.

The Rev. H. Lamb, of Armagh, who proposed, said: "You have been discussing many things at this meeting, but nothing so urgent as the matter now before you. If a young airman is ordered to drop an atomic bomb on a city what is he to do? Should he obey orders or should he refuse?

"If our young people are taught to accept the Christian standard it is surely the duty of the Church to give some guidance as to what, in a given situation, the Christian standard really is."

Lord Farnham said that the Synod would be treading on dangerous ground by discussing the motion. Military conscription was a matter for Parliament, and not for the Synod. Were they going to tie the hands of Christians who were fighting Communism?

The Synod then agreed by a majority not to discuss the resolution.

(The Church and the CO—p. 6)

"UN on wrong road"

WE are certainly neutral in the cold war, India's Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru, told the Indian Parliament in a speech on June 12.

After justifying India's association with the Commonwealth he went on to speak of his country's place in a world drifting towards war and said:

"Even so, our policy should be such as to prevent that disaster; secondly, to avoid it; and, thirdly, even if it comes, to retain a certain position of being able to stop it even after it has started.

"I should like an even wider area in this world—in Asia, let us say—of countries which decide that they will not enter war whatever happens.

"I should like the countries of Asia and other countries also, but I speak about our neighbours, the countries of Asia—to make it clear to these warring factions, these great countries who are so exercised by passion against each other, that they will remain cool whatever happens, will not enter the arena of warfare, and will try at least to restrict warfare to other regions, save their region and try to save the rest.

"I should like to say, insofar as we can declare ourselves and get other countries to declare, that we are against the use of horrible modern weapons."

Use of the word "neutral" to describe India's foreign policy was wrong, said Mr. Nehru, except in terms of war.

"If you say there is war on to-day we are neutral. If you say there is cold war we are certainly neutral.

Cold war is in some ways worse than a shooting war, worse not in disaster but in the sense that it is more degrading and it lowers standards all the time.

"It does not matter who is right and who is wrong. We will not join in this exhibition of mutual abuse because we do not serve anybody that way, certainly not the cause of peace."

Referring to recent internal developments in South Korea, Mr. Nehru said that any support of the régime of President Syngman Rhee meant support of the very things which the United Nations was supposed to stand against.

The activities of Dr. Rhee, he said, should make the United Nations and every country connected with it think of the undesirability of any association with a person like Dr. Rhee who functioned in that way.

Referring to the truce negotiations going on in Korea, the Prime Minister said the future of the Far East and the world depended on what turn the negotiations took.

"It seems to be amazing that we should get stuck month after month for nearly a year," he said.

India, Mr. Nehru went on, had played some part in the negotiations in the hope that perhaps some way out to peace might be found.

Tunisian issue

The Prime Minister also referred to the United Nations handling of the Tunisian question and said India had taken a serious view of the denial of discussion on this issue in the Security Council.

"If the whole of Asia and Africa combined cannot get a subject discussed in the Security Council because two or three great Powers object to it," he pointed out, "then the time may come when these countries of Asia and Africa will feel that they are happy in their own countries and not in the United Nations.

"That would be a tragic position because I do feel that in spite of these faults, the United Nations serves an essential purpose."

Mr. Nehru said he attached the greatest importance to the United Nations, "but where the United Nations has swerved from its original mooring and become gradually a protector of colonialism even in an indirect way, it is a dangerous deviation." Also, instead of its being a great organisation for peace, some of its members had slowly begun to think of the United Nations more and more as an organisation for waging war.

TUC's arms statement

USDAW OBJECTS: WANTS MORE PROGRESSIVE POLICY

THE Union of Shop, Distributive and Allied Workers, which has 350,000 members, has sent a letter to the Trades Union Congress expressing opposition to the policies and principles set forth by the TUC in it statement on rearmament policy which was issued on May 29.

The Union resents the TUC's attempt to steamroller criticism by the suggestion that those who oppose the arms policy are "playing the Communist game" and it says that it is "surprised to find the argument adduced that any curtailment of the present programme might lead to difficulties on the grounds of increasing unemployment. It is surely incumbent upon the trade union movement to advise a more progressive policy."

LONDON STUDENTS FORM PACIFIST GROUP

TO THE EDITOR

MIGHT I through your columns announce the formation of a pacifist students group in London, and ask that any student readers, particularly in the smaller schools or colleges, should contact me? They will then receive full details.

We are already about fifty strong and when next academic session we start full activities I am confident, from the temper of students against the war drive, we will multiply this number several times.

Like the Peace Pledge Union we wish to represent no religious or secular belief in particular, but all those beliefs that combine in pacifism and refusal of military service.

BERNARD CRICK.
London Students Pacifist Group,
37, Tavistock Place, W.C.1.

"Reorganise UNO"

A NATIONAL Policy Conference held by the Crusade for World Government in London on June 7 and 8 passed a resolution urging that the United Nations should be reorganised into a genuine World Federal Government.

The Conference also considered ways and means of producing greater uniformity of literature and emblems within its Districts and Branches, and called for a series of factual policy statements on all international events and news items of outstanding significance.

World Government won a recent debate at Ipswich by 30 votes to 19. The motion, "This House believes that the strengthening of the UN into a World Federal Government offers the best prospects for peace," was proposed by John Hoyland, seconded by John Fitzgerald, and opposed by Hugh Sutherland, seconded by Mr. Crowe.

Refuses to handle rifle

FRENCH CO IMPRISONED FOR THIRD TIME

A YOUNG French conscientious objector, Jean Witner, was sentenced to 15 months' imprisonment when he appeared before a court in Paris last week, on a charge of refusing to handle a rifle whilst doing his military service.

This is his third sentence of imprisonment for an offence of this sort, and, the Manchester Guardian's Paris correspondent reports there does not seem to be any reason why in law he should not continue to be condemned for successive periods of imprisonment until he becomes too old for military service.

The trial, says the Guardian correspondent, was singularly distasteful, and the civilian judge, who was assisted by two military officers, behaved in a very undignified way.

When the accused, who is a Mennonite, was asked to explain himself after hearing the accusation, he was roughly cut short in the middle of his first sentence by M. Dericke with the words: "Don't begin a speech. Why didn't you obey?" To this the accused replied: "I am a minister of the gospel."

The judge went on: "Well, and what then? That doesn't interest us (on s'en moque), we're not in church."

Deserter who was canonised

In the course of his defence, M. Witner's counsel recalled that the Curé d'Ars had deserted Napoleon's army and subsequently had been canonised. The judge made it clear that he strongly disapproved of what the lawyer had to say, frequently chatting to the two officers who were sitting beside him while he was speaking.

After the judge had given his verdict, the accused made a short concluding statement. "I am a soldier of Christ," he said, "and cannot fight with the arms of this world."

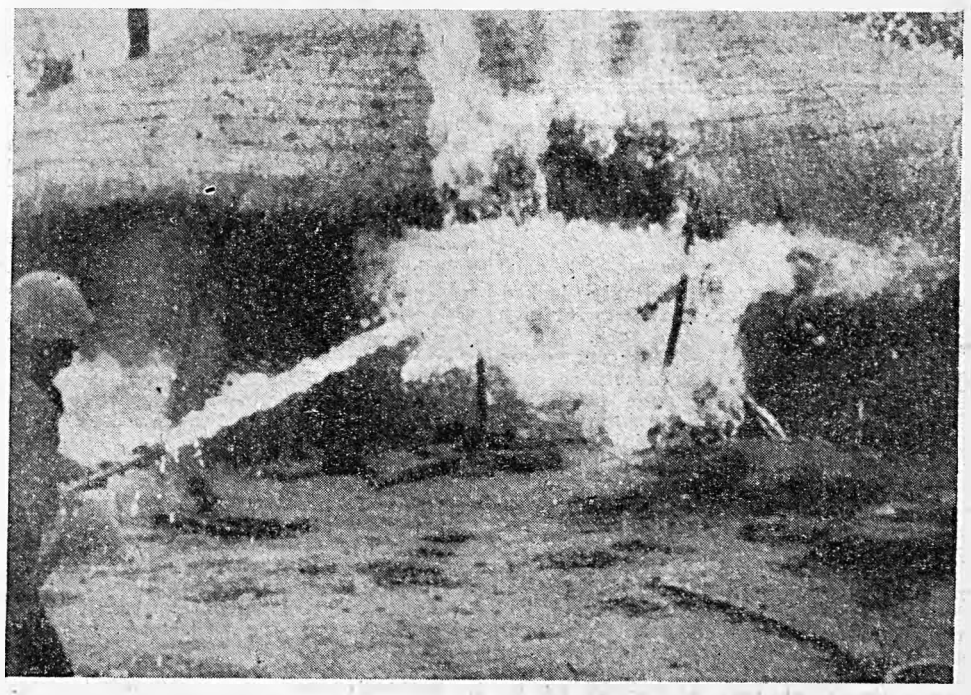
Another CO who is to be tried in the Paris area in the near future is a young man who is a ward of the nation. His father died as a deportee at Dachau, and both his grandparents were killed in the first world war. He was brought up by his mother as a pacifist, and has refused to put on uniform.

(British soldier refused to use rifle—Tribunal report, page 4.)

"Choose pacifism - not militarism"

American pacifists are sending letters to all college seniors in the Los Angeles area inviting them to choose pacifism rather than a military career, to counter the military letters urging them to volunteer.

TWO YEARS OF DESTRUCTION IN KOREA



TO SOMEONE IT WAS HOME

But US soldiers are afraid of snipers and so the South Korean village through which they are advancing must be burned down. This picture was taken when the UN forces recaptured a village about 160 miles SOUTH of the 38th Parallel in 1950.

PEACE NEWS

3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4
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20th June, 1952

AFTER TWO YEARS OF SLAUGHTER

NEXT Wednesday is the second anniversary of the outbreak of war in Korea.

A fortnight later, on Thursday, July 10, will bring the first anniversary of the truce talks.

Thus we may soon enter upon a stage when the negotiations to settle the preliminaries to peace negotiations will have covered a greater period of time than the war period before the truce talks began.

This, we imagine, will be something completely new in history; we believe it argues either incompetence or bad faith on the part of the negotiators, and we do not believe that these things are confined to one side in these parleys.

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The accounts of the parleys that we get an opportunity to read, however, are those of the UN side.

They are not remarkable for candour, but what does come through seems frequently to disclose the mentality of the juvenile delinquent, become invested by some horrible turn of events with power of life and death over a countryside.

★

We reach this second annuversary of the war with a repetition of the ironical circumstances in which it started.

The US army intervened in defence of the way of life of the free world and to uphold democratic standards. When it intervened, its protégé, Dr. Syngman Rhee, had just completed some "police state" operations that permitted him to dominate the Korean National Assembly.

The wheel has turned full circle and we are now back where we were in this respect.

Dr. Rhee has threatened the dissolution of the Assembly, arrested twelve members, caused 30 or 40 to go into hiding and imposed martial law.

He has refused to answer for his actions before what is left of the Assembly, remarking that "desultory talk" is useless.

For some reason he now feels strong enough to thumb his nose at the United States. He has confiscated copies of the United States magazine, Newsweek, closed down the "Voice of America" broadcasts in South Korea, and defied the protests of the United Nations.

It does not appear that the visit of Mr. Selwyn Lloyd has made any great impression on him, and with an unconscious but grim irony he makes vehement protests against external interference in Korean internal affairs.

★

A country destroyed, a totalitarian government, a sordid record of double-dealing, a growing detestation of the ways of the West by the East: these are the things that have been achieved at a cost of more than four hundred thousand casualties among United Nations Forces (414,945, according to Associated Press despatch, January 16, 1952).

Has Western statesmanship become petrified, fixed in an unimaginative incapacity to think in other terms than the matching of weapons against weapons?

Would it not be possible for the statesmen now to assert that the soldiers have had their turn: that talks must now proceed on a political level.

Nothing would be gained by this, of course, if on the side of the West political manœuvring were to replace military manœuvring in support of Chiang Kai-shek against Peking. If, however, the statesmen could find it possible to act as human beings not incapable of pity it should not be beyond their capacity to focus the talks primarily on the need to rebuild a land in which it will be possible for what is left of the Korean people to live tolerable lives.

★

What men have outstandingly lacked since World War II is the capacity for pity and the capacity for repentance.

If the statesmen of the two great power blocs could find it in their hearts to contemplate what they have done in Korea with a little humility, and to begin to consider together how they can make amends, the posturings and defiances of Panmunjom would soon be forgotten and—who knows? —it is conceivable that the wider matters in dispute might fall into a different perspective.

If the United Nations were to present proposals providing for the time being for a special type of trusteeship arrangement charged with the settling of ways and means for undoing as far as possible the terrible wrong done to that unhappy land since a line was drawn at Parallel 38, it might be the first step towards giving UN a real moral authority in the world.

Ratification by consent

WHEN the House of Commons re-assembled the concern which members felt at the situation in Europe was evidenced by the questions to the Prime Minister and the comments on the Foreign Secretary's statement about the Contractual Agreement with Germany.

Mr. Eden promised full discussion before ratification, but he also made it clear that the Government intended to force the ratification through the House in the immediate future. This they can do, though it will be up to the Opposition to offer the most strenuous and united opposition and to challenge the Government in the lobbies and show that opinion in this country is as much opposed to ratification as it is in Germany. There is no doubt of the strong German opposition, and Mr. Eden's attempt to score debating points does not answer the contention that the German people should be given their chance to show clearly their wishes through a general election before ratification.

We do not put much value on Mr. Eden's assertion that the Germans are free to express their opinions and that he knows what they are.

Both the Peace Pledge Union and the National Peace Council have protested to the Foreign Secretary about the banning in Germany of meetings held to protest at the rearmament of Germany. The answer has been that this is a matter for the German authorities but that no meeting is banned unless it is Communist-inspired or influenced.

We know that to be inaccurate and last week brought a sharp reminder of it.

Another visa refused

When Stuart Morris was in Germany last autumn the police banned his meeting at Munich, as the Americans had tried to do a year earlier. His German visa expired on June 11, and having been asked to go as a delegate from the NPC to a conference at Copenhagen on "The Solution of the German Problem" last week-end, he applied for a renewal at the German Consulate.

On going to get his passport back he was informed that the visa (even a transit visa) had been refused *on the instructions of the Allied High Commission in Germany.*

That the German authorities were ready to give the visa is evidenced by the fact that they had already stamped it in his passport and subsequently cancelled it!

A strong protest has been made to the Foreign Secretary for there can be no other reason for this high-handed refusal than that Stuart Morris has opposed German rearmament and the ratification of the Contractual Agreement both in Germany and in this country.

The Foreign Office cannot have it both ways.

If such matters are within the province of the German authorities, why the interference of the Allied High Commission?

If there is freedom of speech in Germany and Mr. Eden is anxious to know the real feelings of the German people, why the banning of meetings opposing official policy and why this discrimination by British authorities against Stuart Morris because he has tried to do exactly what the Foreign Secretary claims that he desires?

Ringside tactics

THOUGH we appreciate some of the arguments used by the Russian delegate at the UN Disarmament Commission, we regret that the Soviet Union turned down so completely the latest British-American plan proposing maximum figures for all armed forces.

This is not to put the whole blame on Russia so much as to deplore the whole method of the Conference. It savours too much of a boxing match in which each of the contestants meets a straight left with a straight right and with perhaps even the idea of bringing the bout to an end with a knock-out blow. This is not negotiation.

We have previously said that the first necessity was for the two sides to agree on the principle to be accepted as a basis and subsequently to reach a compromise on the method of applying the principle. Nothing can be gained by the uncompromising attitude which puts forward detailed proposals without reference to the known views of the other side.

If the delegates will not try to agree first on principle, they should at least be prepared to say what is acceptable in the opposing proposals and how their objections could be met—and if the British and American delegates think it right to accuse their Russian opposite numbers of only being concerned with propaganda attacks, it is up to them to examine the Russian proposals fairly, point out their objections, and also to state how those objections can be met.

BEHIND THE NEWS

Some inhabitants of Koje

IN December, 1950, some hundred thousand Korean civilians were evacuated by sea from Hamkeung.

They had been cleared from the 50-mile belt south of the 38th Parallel.

Many of them were persistent returnees to their farms in that area and they had a grudge against fate and—who knows?—something of a failure in sympathy for the activities of the United Nations Forces.

There is no doubt that some of these may have manifested sentiments that could be described as Communist, although it is unlikely that they had ever heard of Marx or the Cominform.

Of the survivors of these 100,000 people cleared from their homes and occupations there were some who were found to be "contaminated," and these were evacuated to one or the other of the thirty compounds on Koje Island.

There they would appear to have been mixed with prisoners taken in "Operation Ratkiller" (They have nice minds these "United Nations" generals), and with prisoners of war taken in the North.

If these things are borne in mind it is not difficult to understand some of the happenings that have occurred on Koje.

It was hardly necessary to demonstrate to these tortured human beings, as Camp Commandant Boatner did on June 9 that tank and flame thowers can destroy a village. They already knew this.

It is not unlikely that some of the Koje troubles have arisen from the fact that many of these poor people, under the weight of the sufferings that have been inflicted on them, have become mentally, as well as physically, sick.

Syngman Rhee's Right-hand man

GENERAL LEE BUM SUK, who has been appointed Minister of the Interior by Dr. Syngman Rhee, was the South Korean Defence Minister in 1947.

It was he who was responsible for the National Youth Organisation which provided military training for lads on the Nazi model. They were supported financially and otherwise by the American military.

Numbering 1,250,000 in 1948, these young boys were fascinated by the new foreign weapons with which they were supplied.

They were a force to be feared, and they played an important part in something that was called an election.

The South Korean, learning how to be a democrat, found it just as well when he put his mark on the piece of paper that was given him to put it in the place they indicated.

INQUEST ON COLLECTIVE SECURITY

By R. S. W. POLLARD

Based on an address given to the London Group of the Labour Pacifist Fellowship

COLLECTIVE security has been included in Labour Party policy since the mid-thirties. In the light of the UN "collective action" in Korea, an up-to-date examination of the implications of collective security is vital.

Does this policy safeguard the peace or does it lead to war? Has collective security in practice been a success?

COLLECTIVE SECURITY UNDER THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS COVENANT

The Covenant provided for economic and military sanctions and the severance of economic relations was mandatory following the condemnation of the aggressor.

Experience proved that the great powers were not prepared to take action against other great powers. This was revealed clearly in the Manchurian dispute in 1931 and over Abyssinia, where an oil and coal embargo could have put the brake on Italian aggression.

The USA was outside the League and some countries, i.e., Switzerland, rejected all sanctions.

UNDER THE UNITED NATIONS CHARTER

In the light of LoN experience it was argued that the UN needed more "teeth" to keep the "peace," for the UN with its combined strength, should be able to defeat any aggressor. The Security Council could impose economic, political and military sanctions, but there must be unanimity of the Big Powers to implement these decisions effectively.

Any sharp division amongst the Great Powers in the Security Council, as over Korea, was not catered for under the Charter.

If the USSR had been present at the meetings of the Security Council in June, 1950, the UN action in Korea would have been illegal.

The UN voting on the Korean dispute indicates the unrepresentative nature of the UN, with 44 for UN action in Korea and 7 against. In terms of population this is approximately 590,000,000 for, 590,000,000 against, but ignores the 460,000,000 of China and the votes of the non-member states.

The UN has succeeded in ending wars in Palestine and Indonesia. It has prevented war in Kashmir. Here it relied on **conciliation.** These actions contrast sharply with its use of war in the Korean dispute.

COLLECTIVE MEASURES COMMITTEE

The US proposed the Collective Measures Committee as a move to get round the provisions of the Charter. Its legality is in doubt.

Dean Acheson, US Secretary of State, got the General Assembly (Resolution 377A(V)) to accept certain measures:—

a. Special meetings of the Security Council; b. A Peace Observation Committee; c. Armed forces to be made available by member states for use by UN; d. Setting up of a panel of experts.

The Report of the Collective Measures Committee analyses sanctions in three parts:—

1. Political:
   (a) Appeals to both sides.
   (b) Denunciation of aggressor.
   (c) Collective representation to aggressor.
   (d) Severance of diplomatic relations.
   (e) Expulsion of aggressor from UN.
   (f) No recognition of territory acquired as a result of the aggression.
2. Economic and Social:
   (a) Stop supply of arms to aggressor.
   (b) Ban exports to and imports from aggressor.
   (c) Stop all commercial and financial transactions.
   (d) Sequestrate property of aggressor and its nationals.
   (e) Stop all transport links with aggressor nation.
   (f) Arrange for mutual assistance between the states fighting against the aggressor.
   (g) Assist refugees.
3. Military Measures:
   These are based on UN experiences in Korea and include the appointment of an executive military authority and Commander in Chief and the issue of medals and flags.

UN GENERAL ASSEMBLY 1951-52

The Collective measures report came up for discussion during the debates in General Assembly at the recent UN session in Paris. US policy was not acceptable to many states and was considerably modified. States can refuse the right of passage to UN troops and are free to veto UN action on their territory.

It is clear that if one great power disagreed with collective measures by the UN, a situation of world war would in fact exist.

In attempting to get the UN to accept a collective measures policy of this kind, the USA is trying to convert the UN into an anti-Communist organisation.

IS COLLECTIVE SECURITY POLICE ACTION?

In Korea the UN action has heightened world tension and led to the virtual obliteration of that country.

True police action deals with the **individual offender, in the interests of society and the offender.** Reform of the wrongdoer is a vital factor.

War against a group or nation (i.e. the North Koreans) bears no relation to police action.

A police force operates with the consent of the people. Its force is held in reserve whilst an "army makes a desert and calls it peace."

Collective security is, in fact, war under another name and should therefore be resisted. It provides no basis for world peace.

The plans of the Collective Measures Committee are means whereby the USA can link up its allies for the Third World War under the "cloak" of the UN.

The sharp division of the world into two hostile power blocs has to be recognised. This limits the functions of the UN. The UN should persist in negotiation and its aim must be to reconcile the differences between conflicting nations—both great and small.

Some of the most practical suggestions for strengthening the United Nations as a real peacemaking body are those given by the American Quakers in "Steps to Peace." (Gollancz, 1s 6d.)

CLERIHEW

"The American people have always had a strong distaste for war. We believe in peace. But three times in my adult lifetime we have been forced to resort to war in search of peace."

—General Omar Bradley.

Said Omar Bradley
Sadly,
"Three times did we resort to war
In search of peace."
(But wars didn't cease!)
There's no release,
General, in repetition proved fallacious!
Try something more sagacious!

PHYLLIS VALLANCE.

I RENOUNCE WAR AND I WILL NEVER SUPPORT OR SANCTION ANOTHER

This pledge, signed by each member, is the basis of the Peace Pledge Union. Send YOUR pledge to

P.P.U. HEADQUARTERS

Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh St., WC1

War cannot create peace; evil means cannot produce noble ends

TWO YEARS AGO, AT THE OUTBREAK OF WAR IN KOREA, PEACE NEWS SAID:

War cannot create peace; murder cannot achieve justice; evil means cannot produce noble ends. That is why war inevitably has the opposite effect to that which those who make it intend—or say they intend.

This fact will prove as certain in the case of Korea as in every other instance, without exception, of military action.

The fact that evil means are followed by evil ends is not merely an abstract principle; in our own time it has proved true, again and again, in terms of concrete results.

None of us is yet in a position to make positive assertions about the political and material causes of the Korean situation, and for a significant reason: the method of war, and the spirit it creates, always obscures the truth.

One of the first weapons in a modern war, however ostensibly "just," is the use of biassed and selective propaganda.

The so-called "police" forces of the United Nations are miles away from that action based on impartial evidence which is the essence of civil justice.

—Leading article by Vera Brittain, July 7, 1950.

What is American power doing in the East, anyway? It is not established there for any beneficent purpose. It is not there to bring Christian, democratic or any other kind of light into heathen darkness.

It is there now, as it always has been there, to defend the purely material interests of American commerce. And it is a danger, because that commerce is based on an economic system which demands continually expanding markets for its maintenance.

That is the real danger to peace behind the facade of current events.

American opposition to Communism is not, primarily, based on any moral or ideological principle, but on the fear that the spread of Communism will prevent that commercial expansion.

It is a justifiable fear, for the spread of Communism has been made possible only by the past failure of Western capitalism to satisfy the needs of the Eastern peoples.

—Editorial, July 14, 1950.

Even assuming the wrong to be all on one side (a fantastic assumption) we would still say that the danger to the world's peace is not Communist aggression, but the belief that such aggression can be prevented by violence.

Neither is there, as yet, anything hopeful in the claim that United Nations is a law-defending agency. For there is no assurance of justice as the result of its present action.

Punitive action has been taken without sufficient attempt having been made to establish the rights and wrongs of the dispute; the motives of the chief parties to the legal action are not sufficiently disinterested to invest the law with the necessary moral sanctions.

Power politics has been too obviously the primary motive of both sides since 1945.

It is said that there can be no more discussion until the aggressors have been shown that aggression will not be tolerated. This war will not teach that lesson any more than any other war has done. It will merely deepen the sense of injustice in the defeated and increase the danger of further conflict.

—Editorial, July 21, 1950.

The beginning of the Korean war

PEACE NEWS has always maintained that the question whether the North or the South Korean army first went to the attack across the 38th Parallel was a secondary matter.

The question has, however, some importance in regard to the method of operation of the United Nations, which based its endorsement of American intervention on a very precipitate assessment.

The inception of the latest phase of Korea's tragic history is not to be found in the events of June 25, 1950, but in those of September, 1945, when, despite the protests of Korean spokesmen of all parties, an artificial barrier was drawn across the country, destroying the possibility of a unified government, disorganising its industry, and separating families and neighbours; sacrificing the interest of the Korean people to the fears, suspicions and egotisms of two great powers.

Korea had never known what the West calls free democratic government, it had lived for years under the imperialist domination of Japan, and the very worst invitation into democratic ways was to divide it into two parts and bring the policies of its broken portions into subjection to two hostile powers.

Less misery under Japanese rule

There can be little doubt that the Koreans experienced much less misery under the rule of their Japanese imperialist oppressors than they have under their "liberators."

However it began, what was started in Korea was civil war, as a means to settling what was to be the Korean government in a land that had no tradition of constitutional practice.

America's action turned the civil war into international war, and we have still to find whether it may also have turned it into world war.

On the question of which army first crossed the 38th Parallel we have felt that there was too little evidence to decide. We have not found Sir John Pratt convincing, while recognising that the investigation undertaken by the United Nations before it made its pronouncement was tragically inadequate, and that the decision given in these circumstances by such a body smacked of criminal levity.

It is the United Nations aspect that seems to us to be important.

If American Republican opinion, helped by Republican generals, does not take us into World War III before the Korean war is brought to a close, the events leading up to June 25, 1950, and the methods by which the United Nations reached their decision on Korea, will have to come under scrutiny as a preliminary to the question of how UNO is to function in the future —if it is to function at all.

One thing that will need to come up for examination is the allegation, published in the Observer of a fortnight ago and then withdrawn, that a majority of the Korean Assembly declared that Syngman Rhee had been guilty of aggression.

The book of which we gave some account last week ("The Hidden History of the Korean War," by I. F. Stone, 21s) also points to a great deal of material that will need examination.

Mr. Stone does not enter into the discussion on the question whether the North or the South Koreans were the first to cross the Parallel, although he refers to one matter that will need to be looked into.

He quotes a story by Mr. John Gunther. On the day that fighting began Mr. Gunther had arranged to travel to Nikko with General Courtney Whitney, MacArthur's chief political adviser. The General was prevented from going at the last moment. MacArthur needed him. When the party had arrived at Nikko one of "two important members of the occupation" who were with it was called to the telephone. He came back and whispered, "A big story has just broken. The South Koreans have attacked North Korea."

Mr. Gunther makes a light-hearted comment on the wild inaccuracy of this message, but one would like to have more information as to how it came to be garbled. Who was the "important member" who received that message? From whom had he received it? Was it garbled at the Nikko end or the Tokyo end? Did the muddle occur before the news reached Tokyo?

These are matters one would like to have investigated by some United Nations organ.

Mr. Stone demonstrates conclusively that not only the South Koreans, but also General MacArthur's Command, were fully expecting war, and were being very careful to do nothing to prevent its outbreak.

He shows, for instance, that before June 25 the Americans had ready a draft resolution for the United Nations to be presented on the outbreak of war in Korea.

He gives a group of examples of "intelligence" reports to show that the Tokyo Command were fully aware of preparations in the North, so that there was no military surprise when the war started.

The careful exclusion from the Press of any of this information ensured public surprise and prevented any pronouncement from the West that might have averted the war.

All this makes clear, of course, that the North was preparing for attack, but it still does not exclude the possibility that war was actually precipitated by a foray over the Parallel by the South Koreans as a feint to bring it on.

One very significant quotation that the author provides is from John Foster Dulles. Dulles visited Korea and Japan shortly before the outbreak of war, and on June 22 Associated Press recorded that after being in conference with the Supreme Commander, General MacArthur, Dulles "predicted 'positive action' by the United States to preserve peace in the Far East."

The author remarks that the only positive action that followed "was the outbreak of war in Korea on June 25 and the commitment of the American government to large-scale intervention against Communism in the Pacific area on June 27."

This book does not, of course, examine the contribution made by the Russian Government to the chain of events that has brought the world to its present dreadful situation, poised on the edge of disaster. The author remarks:

"I did examine carefully the North Korean Blue Book on the origins of the war, but I must say I found remarkably little in it. Mr. Vishinsky's speeches at the United Nations on the Korean War convinced me only that the Russians themselves must know very little about its origins if this was the best that so able a lawyer as Mr. Vishinsky could do.

"I do not think that the truth—in this as in all wars—is to be found in the simplistic propaganda of either side. I believe that in Korea the big powers were the victims, among other things, of headstrong satellites itching for a showdown which Washington, Moscow, and Peking had long anticipated but were alike anxious to avoid. There is a certain parallel here with Sarajevo, though the parallel fortunately is still incomplete." J A S.

ON THE BATTLEFIELD

Two Korean waifs on a haystack follow the example of a mortar crew a few yards away and cover their ears against the blast of the weapon. "When the way is clear," says the caption to this US Army picture, "the pitiful little wanderers will resume the endless trek toward safer areas."

—International News Photo.

Found wandering in the ruins of Seoul, these children are being taken to an orphanage by a UN welfare officer. This photo was taken in October, 1950, when the city had been twice fought over; in the following year it was burned and abandoned by the UN forces in the face of the North Korean advance. The city was later entered by South Korean patrols who were again driven out. It was recaptured by UN forces on March 14, 1951.

—Unations Photo.

MICAWBER WAS RIGHT

RUIN stares me in the face.

I flatter myself that is an impressive opening. And will readers kindly pause a moment before proceeding, so as to get the full effect?

Thank you. The pause being over, honesty compels me to add that although I am vis-a-vis ruin, it has not, at the moment of going to press, actually arrived. Staring at ruin and being ruined are not necessarily identical, as Mr. Micawber proved time and again.

Let me explain, then, that I am staring at our Balance Sheet. Such documents are supposed to give a true picture of the financial situation. Ours doesn't. It leaves out of account the miracles — those incalculable occurrences which, though obscurely consistent with natural laws, cannot be predicted by any known rules of science or accountancy, but upon which we relay for solvency.

All it can do is show that, failing some unpredictable intervention, we shall be ruined in a matter of months.

The case of Micawber is therefore relevant. What saved him was that Something, upon which against all rational probability he relied, Turned Up. In other words, Fate intervened.

He saw no reason why it shouldn't. Neither do we. In fact it repeatedly does so. For example, a lady has just written to say she has had a small unexpected legacy and encloses a bit of it. Our accountant cannot allow for such turns of Fortune's wheel. It's against the rules of his union.

But how nice for this lady to know that she has personified Fate—that awesome and anonymous divinity that shapes our ends!

(Provided, of course, that a sufficient number of other readers decide to be similarly divine.)

B. J. BOOTHROYD.

Contributions since June 6: £15 0s 3d.
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BANISH THE COLOUR BAR

By R. W. SORENSEN, MP

ALTHOUGH all boys are familiar with the "Redskins" and "Palefaces" perhaps not all are conscious of the latter term as one of scorn for anaemic pigmentation.

In defence we who are "Palefaces" may plead it is not our fault that we are a racial minority and that in any case this does not necessarily indicate intrinsic mental inferiority.

In fact, of course, far from being apologetic many of the white race have for some strange reason assumed their own particular pigmentation is one demonstration of intrinsic superiority; and in many cases this conviction has become pathological, as in South Africa and the Southern United States.

The original nature of this irrational perversity can be exposed by psychological analysis, without, however, diminishing its vehement intensity. We may dismiss the phenomena of the colour bar as a compound of morally justifiable prejudice, fear and arrogance but that will not make the slightest difference to those who have been conditioned to its acceptance, and who "feel it in their bones" that the colour bar must be preserved.

Mr. Julius Lewin has described how this "bone feeling" (or as the Nazis said—"thinking with the blood") operates in Africa in "Britain's Colour Bar in Africa," a pamphlet published by the Union of Democratic Control at 1s.

Tragic developments

As a South African he is aware both of the tragic developments in the Union and of similar potentialities or actualities in British Central and East Africa. His references are therefore to those areas, whereas by far the greater number of indigenous British colonial subjects are in the West African colonies and protectorates—probably 30 millions compared with 14 millions in the other parts of British Africa and 10 millions in the Union of South Africa.

Nevertheless Mr. Lewin is deeply concerned with the colour bar in those areas for which Britain has direct responsibility no doubt because he believes that there we can do much to counterbalance the consequences of present South African racial policy.

His first illustration is the colour bar in the Northern Rhodesia copper belt.

There "all the highly-paid skilled work on these mines is reserved for white immigrants. No native African, however capable he may be in fact, is allowed to do skilled work. Most Africans do only rough unskilled work and receive less than one-twentieth of the wage that the skilled white men earn.

And thus we have the paradox of two separate trade unions in this industry, one for white workers and another black, with an unbridged gulf between the two.

Problems of representation

Mr. Lewin also deals with the disproportionate political representation in Northern Rhodesia, Kenya, Tanganyika and Uganda where in the aggregate Africans have 22 representatives for over 12,000,000 population, Asians 15 for over 200,000 and Europeans 35 for over 60,000.

Yet even equal block racial representation is being strenously opposed.

Indeed there are real dangers in the principle of separate community representation for it would over-emphasise racial distinctions and frustrate inter-racial political cohesion.

The author states frankly and rightly "the problem of political representation in a mixed society is a real one" and appreciates the complex problem arising from the persistence of a primitive culture and mass illiteracy.

Altogether his criticism of colour bar law and practice in British Africa is formidable. Assuredly there is need to appreciate the warning ". . . of the risk taken by people who throw stones (eg, at the Union of South Africa) while they are living in glass houses"; but the British Government should heed his earnest plea to be less hesitant in condemning South Africa at the United Nations forum.

Signs of progress

It is a pity however that the author neither deals with the more encouraging side of the picture that can be seen in West Africa nor with the efforts made by the British Colonial Office since the war to check or reverse colour bar operations.

Compared with the deplorable integration of apartheid policy in South Africa there are signs of encouragement and progress within the areas for which Britain is responsible and it is surely misleading to imply that there is no "band of courageous men and women in Britain to attack the evil theory and the pernicious practice of white supremacy."

Is not the UDC itself such a band, apart from the Fabian Colonial Bureau and several other influential groups?

Despite the absence of this due recognition Mr. Lewin's pamphlet is timely and valuable, particularly in view of the White clamour for Central African Federation and the resistance of Africans to this proposal because of their conviction and their fear that it will consolidate present racial discrimination.

Facts and Figures By Francis Rona, M.Sc. (Econ)

BRITAIN'S POSITION IN WORLD ECONOMY

Arms drive can only lead to bankruptcy or World War III

THE shrinkage of the dollar and gold reserves will have serious consequences for Britain because of her dependence upon imported food and industrial raw materials. These have to be paid for by exports and gold.

The Sterling Area, already weakened as a consequence of heavy external payments deficits since the onset of the arms drive, is in danger of disintegration.

"Our reserves are low," said Mr. Boyd-Carpenter, Treasury Secretary, on June 9. "They only amount now to the cost of our imports for about eight weeks. Protective measures taken since November to stop the drain—including import cuts and 'dear money' (high Bank Rate and high 'long-term' interest rates)—have not produced satisfactory results."

Not only the value of sterling is endangered, but also the Commonwealth currencies which are tied to sterling through the existence of the so-called "dollar pool"—the central gold and dollar reserves of the Sterling Area—held in London.

These reserves have fallen much below the 1945 level of £610m. The actual amount will be stated in a fortnight's time.

This means that the Dominions (except Canada) and the Colonies cannot obtain dollars from the "pool," even if required for essential imports, and raises the question of whether they will assent to keeping their reserves in London or will set up their own currency reserves.

This danger to solvency necessitates the calling of another Conference of Commonwealth Ministers and the cutting of dollar imports without regard to essential requirements and adverse effects on production and consumption.

Are these hardships really necessary? The arms programme prevents an improvement of the Balance of Payments position.

The ECE Survey of Europe, 1951, frankly states the underlying cause of the crisis:

"The present payments crisis of the United Kingdom stems in very large part from the conflict between a necessarily moderate rate of increase in production and a relatively ambitious armaments programme" (p. 85).

Mr. Gaitskell's mistakes

Britain's overall deficit on external transactions was £93m. in January-June, 1951, and £428m in the second half of 1951. Dollar and gold reserves amounted to £1,381m in June, 1951, and £607m in March, 1952. If this outflow of dollars continues the break-up of the Sterling Area is clearly unavoidable.

Labour leaders are reluctant to criticise the Tory Government's trade policy, however, because they don't want to expose their own past mistakes. We learn from a White Paper (Cmd. 8534):

"The value of imports in 1951 was £3,914m, i.e., 50 per cent more than in 1950. Prices were much higher than in 1950 **and the volume increased by 16 per cent.**

"Exports amounted to £2,580m, i.e., 19 per cent above 1950, **but the volume rose only by 3 per cent.**

Were such excessive imports, at peak prices, really necessary in 1951?

Stocks declined in 1950, but in order to "rearm as fast as we can," Mr. Gaitskell authorised the purchase of 25,000 machine tools mainly from the USA, Belgium, Germany, etc, for £100m (Cmd 8195, p20). Another £143m were allocated for "strategic stockpiling" of food and raw materials (bought at highest prices) at a time when private stocks had also to be replenished.

Private and Government purchases competed in world markets and prices soared as a consequence. In the middle of 1951 the USA stopped purchases of primary products (wool, rubber, tin, etc) from the Sterling Area and prices fell. But blinded by the arms drive Mr. Gaitskell failed to perceive the extent of the dollar drain.

The arms programme fell mostly on metal-using industries, decreasing their capacity to manufacture for export at a time when exports were more than ever necessary.

It would seem that the Labour Party was lucky to have lost the election. The breakneck arms drive and Mr. Gaitskell's trade policy would have resulted in economic collapse.

The Conservative Government reviewed the position and in November, 1951, "explained to the NATO-Committee that the £4,700m defence programme could not be carried through unless means could be found to overcome the growing balance of payments difficulties and for reducing the prospective steel deficit."

Mr. Butler's remedies

The "Gaitskell Gap" in external trade was £407m (see graph below) in the third quarter of 1951. As reserves were vanishing quickly, Mr. Butler reduced total imports by about 10 per cent (£350m) on November 7, 1951.

The narrowing of the trade gap may be attained through four (possibly interconnected types of Government action:

1, Reduction of consumption through deflationary monetary policy; 2, Strict trade restrictions, including "bilateralism"; 3, More efficient use of productive resources and new investment; 4, Reduction of the arms programme to support the export drive.

Mr. Butler's policy concentrated on "fighting" inflation" (left undefined) through "monetary discipline." ("Inflationary gap" usually means excess personal income less taxes and savings over the value of available consumers goods.) The policy of "dear money" and wage freeze depresses living standards (bankers and money-lenders excepted) and reduces consumption and new investment.

Unfortunately, Labour Ministers failed to present an alternative economic programme because they were committed—more than Mr. Butler—to "super-priority" of rearmament.

Shrinking world markets

As imports were cut twice by 15 per cent. (£500m.) and exports cannot expand owing to the arms drive, it is futile to "improve" the trade balance by depressing living standards and creating artificial unemployment (*e.g.*, textiles and household goods). Cmd. 8509, p. 9 states:

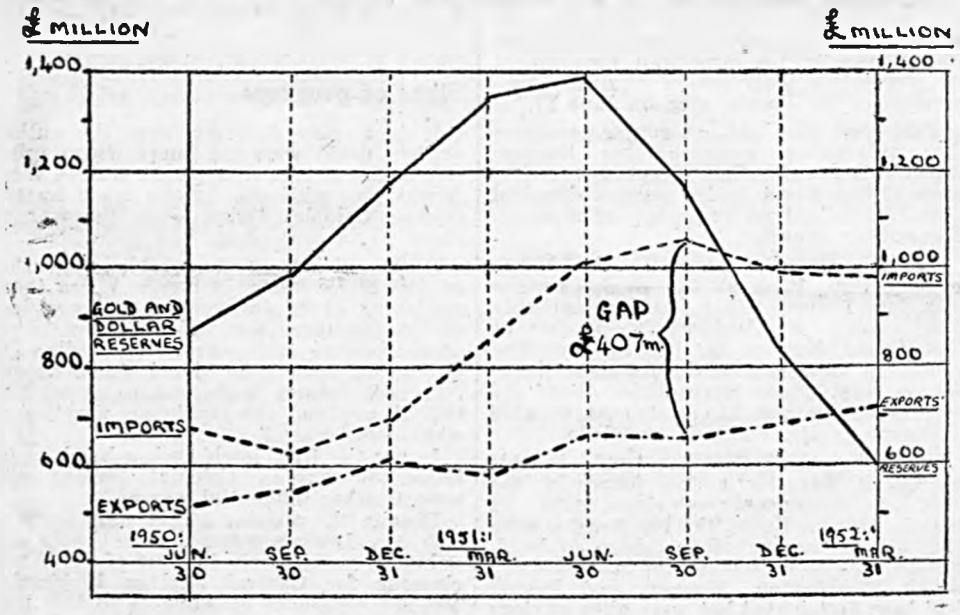
"Rapid increase in exports . . . was obstructed by the acute shortage of steel (caused by arms drive). . . . World demand for textiles and other types of consumers' goods fell sharply, and foreign competition became intense. We could not sell enough of the things we could supply and we could not supply things we could sell."

Treasury Bulletins usually point out that exports depend mainly on wage-costs. (These often represent only a fraction of the price.) Foreign competition, however, is not just a "wage-problem" but a question of production and supply of *useful* goods.

The function of Trade Union experts is to observe, predict trends and advise. But some third class economists in TUs merely swallow Gaitskellian and Butlerian economic analysis or Treasury handouts and cannot consider facts independently or work out policies.

(Continued on page five, column one)

UK IMPORTS, EXPORTS AND GOLD AND DOLLAR RESERVES



NOTE.—Import and export figures represent quarterly totals. Source: Board of Trade Report on Overseas Trade, May 1952 and Cmd. 8505.

Deserter had good record in civil life

HE DREADED "Z" RECALL

From a special correspondent

Ten of the fifteen reservists who appeared before the London Appellate Tribunal for Conscientious Objectors on June 4 were successful in their appeals.

An unusual case was that of Albert William Disley who deserted from the Royal Artillery in 1942 after serving for two years.

It was stated that after deserting he obtained bomb damage reconstruction work with the Hampstead Borough Council, visiting his home after dark, and eventually handing himself over to the police when has wife became ill.

John Fletcher, Disley's representative, said that the appellant had held a licence as a meat porter since 1931 and was hired by the day—thus he never had a "boss" in the true meaning of the word—he was able to select his own jobs (this provoked a comment of "a freelance meat-porter seems curious to me," from Sir Michael McDonnell, the Chairman of the Tribunal).

John Fletcher said that whilst Disley was in the Forces, he was always in trouble and could not settle down to the discipline: "the officers gave him little jobs to keep him away from the sergeant."

He had now spent five years with the same company and was described by them as "an honest, conscientious and clean worker." He dreaded the recall as he felt "bound to go wrong again" despite his good record in civilian life. "Although he wouldn't call himself a pacifist, it is a case which involves a conscientious objection to military service."

His appeal was dismissed.

The case of a barrister, Keith M. McHale, aged 24, who was called to the Bar in 1951, received a lively hearing.

Referring to his statement to the Local Tribunal, he said that it was not the **basis** of his objection, although the facts were true—he was trained as a barrister to set out the details and then, if necessary, to disprove them—"building a house and then knocking it down."

Sir Michael pointed out that the form on which the statement was made was overprinted "in support of" and thus should be the basis of an objection, and added "as a qualified barrister I take it you read forms before filling them up."

The appellant said such statements as "war is wrong—killing is wrong" are axioms and as such one cannot hope to prove them, one can only illustrate their truth.

In questioning a witness, Miss McHale, on how frequently her brother discussed the matter with her, she replied "we hardly every talk about anything else," to which Sir Michael responded, amid laughter, "I thought you would say that." His appeal was dismissed.

Effects of atomic radiation

A very good case was put forward by Colin Forester Ross, a civil engineer.

In his local Tribunal statement he had said that his objection was based mainly on the use of atomic weapons, but qualified it to cover all weapons of mass destruction. The telling factor being not the actual deaths caused by such weapons, but the effect of atomic radiation on future generations, instancing genetical mutation, some of the effects of which were already being seen from the Hiroshima incident.

On being questioned as to the origin of the information which he quoted on atomic radiation, he said that the effect was already generally known and had been freely discussed in prominent publications both scientific and lay.

He said the fact that the official report on the effects of atomic radiation on human beings was on the official secrets list was in itself a good indication of its contents.

Ross had twice disobeyed orders while serving in the army—concerning dealings with unarmed citizens in Athens and Rome.

"Warfare has changed since 1939," he said, "then the use of chemical reagents on unarmed citizens would have shocked the whole public—today it would cause hardly a ripple on the surface of the national press. In my opinion there is no moral justification whatsoever for the use of such weapons."

His appeal was allowed.

Refused rifle drill

The case of William Thomas Ross of Ryde, Isle of Wight, was presented by legal representative, Graham Wiggs, who said that the appellant had served for five years in the Royal Artillery under the misapprehension that he was registered as a CO.

In 1940, on being called up, he stated he wished to register as a conscientious objector but was not given the appropriate form NS14; he had his medical and was called to the Royal Artillery.

He had no idea as to the procedure regarding the registration of COs and thought that his verbal statement on registering was sufficient.

In the whole of the five years, he refused to carry a rifle or attend rifle drill. He spoke freely to his messmates as to his pacifist position, and also informed his Commanding Officer.

On the one occasion, in 1943, when his sergeant ordered him to handle arms, he refused and after explaining to an officer that he was a CO was returned to his cook-house duties with which he continued until his discharge.

His appeal was allowed.

Volunteered for RAF

William Colin Griffiths, aged 29 of Narbeth, Pembs, an Electrcity Board Land Surveyor based his objection on humanitarian grounds.

In 1942 he volunteered for the RAF, but was rejected as medically unfit. Later he joined the Royal Artillery. He said his objection was based on what he saw whilst serving in NW Europe and India.

His moving story was told with poignant simplicity—of how he had seen the destruction caused by our 1,000-bomber raids on NW Europe—of how he had directed a gun on a villlage and later saw the devastating result of his action.

In India he saw the dire poverty and need which convinced him of the folly of "throwing away the world's riches in warfare."

Griffiths continued: "I am convinced the only way to stop wars is through the action of individuals—hence my objection."

There were seven other cases from Wales—all based on religious grounds. They had been turned down by the Welsh Local Tribunal on April 18, and in each case this decision was rescinded, all the appeals being allowed.

There was little questioning in the Welsh cases based on religious grounds—except as to the type of Christian service they were rendering and others of a similar nature. Although one was glad that these simple, straightforward cases were accepted so readily it was obvious that the subject had not been given the careful, deep individual thought which had been so apparent in the earlier cases which were dismissed.

Briefly . . .

"THE Service man is called up to kill, or be killed, whereas the industrially disabled person is injured more or less by accident," Brigadier J. G. Smythe, VC, MP, told limbless ex-Servicemen recently. He was speaking in support of his view that top priority should be given to the war disabled at a conference of the British Limbless ex-Servicemen's Association.

To a delegate's plea that further compensation for the war disabled might be provided at the expense of the armaments programme, the Brigadier replied that he would have thought the war disabled would be the first to demand that war be outlawed: the implication being that rearmament meant the outlawing of war!

* * *

The East-West Relations Group of the Society of Friends, which was responsible for the Quaker Mission to Moscow last year, sent a brief message of sympathy to the staff of the Moscow English-language journal "News" following the death of the editor, Professor Morozov. The message recalled the delegation's gratitude for his friendliness during their visit and appreciation of his active concern for peaceful relations between the Soviet Union and the West, reports The Friend.

* * *

"While most people deplore war, they nonetheless expect it to continue and what people expect determines their behaviour," writes Gordon W. Allport, Professor of Social Relations at Harvard University in a University of Illinois (USA) publication, "Tensions that Cause Wars."

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Britain's position in world economy

(Continued from page four)

Instead, new and impracticable wage restraint formulæ are constructed (Mr. Deakin, June 14) or competition from the Germans is blamed, who "must be rearmed compulsorily to defend civilisation" (Sir V. Tewson).

"Our motto must be Trade not Aid"—said Mr. Butler on June 12. But Australia, South Africa and New Zealand, who take 24 per cent of Britain's exports, have reduced their purchases owing to adverse trade balance. South American markets (especially Brazil) are lost to Germany and Japan. The dollar market is saturated and unstable. Britain has exhausted her credit with EPU ($636m.) and must pay current deficits with OEEC countries in gold.

Predominance of US policy

British exports in 1951 amounted to 22 per cent. of the national income, and imports to 34 per cent. The trade deficit was £1,334m.

US exports in 1951 represented 5 per cent. of the national income, imports less than 4 per cent; the excess of exports was $3,761m. America buys only few commodities, seeking cheap supplies of competing producers, and her trade policy aims at the dissolution of the Sterling Area.

Inadequate dollar reserves will prevent Britain paying $176m. on account of US and Canadian loans this year. Invoking of the "waiver clause" means economic and political concessions by Britain.

Mr. Acheson will arrive in London next week, probably to "clarify" Britain's policy regarding actions against China. Discussions may be linked up with economic problems.

The arms programme has devastating effects on external trade, and non-military production declines. Economic weakness means increased dependence on the US, but no further "economic aid" can be expected from the Administration under President Truman.

What are the economic and political consequences? There is little doubt about intentions of Mr. Taft and General MacArthur in Asia. If economic "aid" is tied to political conditions the choice may become bankruptcy or war.

But there is a third way—economic and political independence through development of the Commonwealth resources and a drastic reduction of the arms programme.

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'THAT PLAYTHING PEACE'

Arthur Guy Enock writes a sequel to 'This War Business'

By Mary Willis

ARTHUR GUY ENOCK, the 82-year-old Quaker author of "This War Business,"* a full-scale exposure of the cost of warfare in human life and materials published last year has written a 28-page pamphlet which he calls "That Plaything Peace."

Published at 1s 6d by The Bodley Head, the pamphlet diagnoses the sickness that is afflicting the world, and prescribes a simple remedy—goodwill.

The word peace, says Arthur Guy Enock in effect, is bandied about by statesmen who have no conception that armed might, even in a supranational setting, can never produce such fruits as peace and goodwill on earth.

He quotes the statement by Mr. Trygve Lie, in October, 1951, that "in spite of the heavy loss of life, one of the most encouraging developments for the preservation of world peace has been the United Nations collective action in Korea," and sets alongside it the words of Christ, "Do men gather grapes of thorns or figs of thistles?"

The eight pithy chapters are packed with useful documentary material.

Chapter I—"The Stage is Set"—gives figures taken from "This War Business" of the cost of warfare and war preparations between 1921 and 1946, both in military and civilian casualties and in money, and introduces the succeeding chapters, in which the present arms race is considered.

Chapter II—"Dramatis Personae"—contains quotations from the speeches of statesmen, mouthpieces of "the two major protagonists, of bitterly opposed schools of thought" who emerged at the end of the war.

"One searches in vain for exceptions—they are all submerged in the war business," declares Guy Enock.

Chapter III—"Equipment for the Rearmament Race," is mainly devoted to atomic warfare, and quotes a warning by the American Federation of Scientists that no weapon, however powerful, can give security to any nation; no defence will bring freedom from fear."

Chapter IV—"New Inventions and Obsolescence"—describes the ceaseless stream of new methods of killing; in 1950 and 1951, some 3,060 inventions relating to warfare were registered with the British Patent Office. "The tragedy," say the writer, "is that the demand for armaments is increasingly attracting into its orbit some of the leading scientific and industrial inventors, mathematicians and organisations."

Chapter V—"The Red Cross"—shows that with the development of methods of mass destruction, we have almost reached the point where ambulance and medical services are powerless to alleviate the suffering caused.

Chapter VI—"That Plaything Peace"—is summarised above.

Chapter VII—"The Shackles of Christendom"—quotes statements by leading British churchmen in support of rearmament, and the World Council of Churches' commendation of the UN action in Korea, as proof that "the professing Christian nations have put themselves into shackles and are increasingly limited in their moral outlook by their self-made bonds."

Chapter VIII—Summary—What has gone before has demonstrated the uselessness of "collective security." The alternative, says the author, is goodwill.

> "That spirit is more powerful for peace than all the armaments in the world. . . . Is it beyond the genius of man to organise such an extension of international goodwill that all armaments may be abolished?"

He believes, he says, that though the leaders and peoples may think that the postern is permanently fastened, in reality they jointly hold the unturned key.

In a tail-piece, Guy Enock says that it is not his intention to produce blue-prints for a new society. Given goodwill on a vastly increased scale, "there are many current schemes for human welfare, all forming integral organisms in the growth of world co-operation, in which ordinary mortals like ourselves can use our influence and play a small part.

**The Bodley Head, 18s.*

Labour League of Youth and Armaments

TO THE EDITOR

"A cut in expenditure on rearmament," reported Peace News on May 30, "is urged in a resolution adopted recently by the Merseyside Federation of the Labour Party League of Youth. . . . An amendment (defeated by a narrow margin) . . urged the Government to abandon rearmament altogether."

Has the League not realised that whereas the Government neither makes nor uses armaments, Labour does both!

Speaking at Eastleigh, Hants, the late Sir Stafford Cripps once gave this sound advice: "Money cannot make armaments. . . . Refuse to make armaments, refuse to use them. That is the only way you can keep this country out of war, and obtain power for the working class." (Daily Herald, March 15, 1937.)

It requires neither courage nor conviction to pass resolutions. Let the Labour League of Youth demonstrate by deeds that it has the faith, courage, and stedfastness to line up with the growing company of men and women committed to the outlawry of war by non-violent non-co-operation.

CHAS. W. D. NEWMAN.

Beechcroft, Brownshill, Stroud.

NEW REGISTRATION FOR PACIFISTS

ON June 31 all professed pacifists will be required to register for national service.

Their period of training may take the form of a few weeks active service during the summer months, and they will be encouraged to volunteer for permanent service in the Anti-Warfare Battalions attached to their nearest town or city.

Long service volunteers will be expected to parade for three hours at least once in seven days and to inform local HQ of their whereabouts in case of need for emergency action. Equipment, which must be carried: copies of Peace News and a PN poster.

Exemptions will be granted only on (a) medical grounds, (b) grounds of hardship, and (c) conscientious objection to working for peace.

Under Section (a) persons suffering acute disability and permanent confinement to bed will be assigned to non-combatant duties only; Section (b) will be applicable only to mothers of large families, persons detained during Her Majesty's pleasure other than for felonious offences, children under fourteen and persons whose age exceeds ninety-nine years on April 1 next. Special Tribunals will be constituted under Section (c). Conditional exemptions only will be granted to those able to satisfy the Tribunal that any participation in pacifist active service would outrage their religious scruples.

Men or Women between the ages of fifteen and ninety-eight volunteering by direct application to the Head Recruiting Office at 3 Blackstock Rd, London, N4, before June 31 will not be required to register.

O—H.F.M.—S

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Notes for your Diary

As this is a free service, we reserve the right to select for publication notices sent in. We nevertheless desire to make it as complete a service as we reasonably can, and therefore urge organisers of events to:

1. Send notices to arrive not later than Monday morning.

2. Include: Date, TOWN, Time, Place (hall, street); nature of event; speakers, organisers (and secretary's address)—preferably in that order and style.

Saturday, June 21

LEWES: 3.30 p.m. and 6 p.m. Friends Mtg Ho, Friars Walk. Muriel Lester: "Just back from the Far East." Chair: Minnie Pallister. Tea interval 5 p.m., bring own food. PPU.

LONDON, WC1: 3 p.m.-5 p.m. Friends International Centre, 32 Tavistock Square. Marjorie Mitchell, MSc. "Adult-Child Relationship in Home, School and Community." For tea at 4 p.m. (6d) please notify Jone Burgess, 9 West St, Hertford, by June 14. Education Commission PPU.

LONDON, WC1: 3 p.m. Dick Sheppard Ho, 6 Endsleigh St. Mtg for discussion. PPU Pacifist Religious Fellowship.

SHEFFIELD: 3.30 p.m. "Rydal," Spaithing Park Rd. Area Rally. Speaker: Rev. Clifford Macquire. FoR.

WORCESTER: 3 p.m. Friends Mtg Ho, Sansome Walk. Rev Claud Coltman, MA, Hon. "For Such a Time as This." FoR.

Sunday, June 22

LEYTONSTONE: 3.30 p.m. Friends Ho, Bush Rd. Dr. Belden on The Strategy of Modern Pacifism. 5 p.m. tea, then discussion and music. PPU.

LONDON: 3 p.m. Clapham Common, Speakers ground. Open-air mtg. Sybil Morrison (Secretary, Alan Breese, 115 Elsenham St, S.W.18). PPU.

GLASGOW: 7.30 p.m. Miller St. and Argyle St.; Open-air Mtg. PPU.

Monday, June 23

COLCHESTER: 7.30 p.m. Friends Mtg Ho, Shewell Rd. Hugh Faulkner on Christian Responsibility for Peace. FoR.

Tuesday, June 24

BRIDGWATER: 7.30 p.m. Friends Mtg Ho, Friarn St. "Any Questions" on International Affairs. Bridgwater Peace Group.

Wednesday, June 25

BRISTOL: 7 p.m. 58 Archfield Rd, Cotham. Special PPU Group Meeting.

Thursday, June 26

HAMPSTEAD: 8 p.m. Friends Mtg Ho, Heath St. Corder Catchpool, "The German Crisis." PPU.

ILFORD: 8 p.m. Friends Mtg Ho, corner Albert & Cleveland Rds. "Pacifist Service in Stepney." PPU.

LONDON, W.C.2: 12.30 p.m. Lincoln's Inn Fields; Open air mtg; Sybil Morrison and Robert Horniman; PPU.

Saturday, June 28

HUTTON: 3.30-7 p.m. Hutton Residential Schools. Rev. Clifford Macquire, "The Abolition of War." FoR.

MILDENHALL: 12 noon Market Place Poster parade to air base. 4.15 p.m. Open air meeting in Market Place. Operation Gandhi.

SALISBURY: 3 p.m. Rechabite Hall, Crane St. Area Conf. The Rev. Lewis Maclachlan. FoR.

TORQUAY: 3.15 p.m. Addison's Cafe, Carey Parade. John Ferguson, MA, BD Chair, Mrs. Lloyd Jones. FoR

Sunday, June 29

PLYMOUTH: 3.15 p.m. Swarthmore Hall, Mutley Plain. John Ferguson, MA, BD. Chair, Rev. E. Mansfield. FoR.

Thursday, July 3

MANCHESTER: 7.30 p.m. Central Hall Chapel, Oldham St. Methodist Peace Fellowship Rally and Covenant Service. Rev. E. Benson Perkins, MA. FoR.

Saturday, July 5

LINCOLN: 3 p.m. 33 Beaumont Fee. Area Meeting. Don Roger, Secretary of Sheffield Family Service Unit, on "Problem Families." Chair: Rev. John Jay. FoR.

SHEFFIELD: One day school at Longshaw Ho, commencing 3 p.m. Reginald Reynolds, "Prospect for Peace." Particulars from Winifred Eason, 6a Summerfield, 10. PPU.

Sunday, July 6

LONDON, WC1: 3 p.m. Trafalgar Square. Public Meeting— "Britain, Bridge or Battlefield?" Emrys Hughes, MP, Dr. Alex Comfort, Victor Yates, MP, Stuart Morris, Mona Bentin, Robert Horniman, Sam Walsh. Chair: Sybil Morrison. PPU.

CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS

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MEETINGS

KOREA—Two Years of War. Public protest meeting **End Korean War. Return all prisoners. Chairman, Mr. S. S. Silverman, MP. Speakers: Mr. G. Bing, QC, MP, Mr. S. Swingler, MP, Tues, June 24, Holborn Hall, Grays Inn Rd., W.C.1. 7.45 p.m. Admission 6d. Britain-China Association.**

INTERNATIONAL CLUB, Bath. Every Tuesday. 7.30 p.m. Royal Literary and Scientific Institute. 18 Queen Square, Bath. All welcome.

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The engagement of persons answering these advertisements must be made through a Local Office of the Ministry of Labour or a scheduled Employment Agency IF the applicant is a man aged 18-64 inclusive or a woman aged 18-59 inclusive, UNLESS he or she or the employment is excepted from the provisions of Vacancies Order 1952.

NO CONSCRIPTION COUNCIL, Crestfield St., W.C.1, needs shorthand-typist with zest for peace; 30 hour week. £4.

VOLUNTARY HELPERS urgently needed at Peace News office. 10 a.m. to 6 p.m. Monday to Friday, up to 9.30 p.m Wednesday evening No special experience necessary. 1 minute Finsbury Park Station, 3 Blackstock Road (above Fish and Cook, stationers), N.4—or phone STAmford Hill 2262-4.

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EXPERT DUPLICATING/typewriting. Mabel Eyles, 395 Hornsey Rd, N.19. Archway 1765, Ex. 1.

PEACE WORKER with organising experience in secretarial capacity international bodies, England, Burma, South Africa seeks post London area with African organisation or any other body requiring assistance. Box 426.

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INTRODUCTIONS, PEN friends, companionship or marriage. V.C.C., 34 Honeywell Road, London, S.W.11.

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SPEAKING & WRITING lessons (correspondence, visit) 5s. Dorothy Matthews, BA, 32 Primrose Hill Road, London, N.W.3. PRImrose 5686.

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Berlin's peace movement

WHERE THEY KNOW WHAT WAR MEANS

PEACE News, as an international pacifist weekly, is the only paper of its kind in Europe.

Every week a small parcel goes to Berlin, and there a group of Germans find in it expressed the point of view which they have come to realise is the one which can bring peace and hope to a continent which has been devastated by two world wars and which is being prepared for a third.

If any city in the world has reason to be convinced of the complete futility of war, it is surely Berlin.

I have paid three visits to the city since the war and, in spite of all the industrious and courageous attempts at tidying up the gaunt ruins, the empty shells of burned out buildings and the heaps of bricks and rubble remain.

Aftermath of Dante's Inferno

I know no more depressing journey in the world than that from the Zoo station in Berlin through the centre of what used to be the most densely populated part of the city out to the East Sector to Potsdam.

This is the aftermath of Dante's Inferno and one wonders how the normal life of the city has ever been reorganised.

The gigantic task of rebuilding Berlin has hardly been touched during the last seven years and at the present rate of progress would take at least half a century. Yet what we were talking about in Berlin last week was the possibility of another war!

"Unconditional Surrender"

What would happen to Berlin if World War III came?

West Berlin is a small island completely surrounded by Russian occupied Germany; occupied in 1945, it must be always remembered, with our approval and consent.

For do not forget how enthusiastic our newspapers were when it was announced that our gallant Russian allies had captured Berlin.

If the Russians are in Germany today it is because we were determined to enforce unconditional surrender on the Germans and refused to announce our willingness to discuss any other peace terms.

So the war went on to the bitter end until Hitler committed suicide in a bunker amidst the bombed ruins, Berlin became a holocaust and a charnel house and was finally stormed by the Russian troops.

Prospects for Berlin

Few people imagined then that only five years later we would be asked to agree to the re-armament of Germany in order to drive the Russians out.

Yet that is the issue in Berlin today and the people there are wondering what is likely to be their fate if the armies begin to march and the bombs drop again.

No wonder there is fear and anxiety in Berlin as the war clouds begin to gather again.

Fear, hatred and propaganda

Yet the peace organisations in West Berlin have by no means an easy task when they set out to carry on their campaign against German rearmament and Dr. Adenauer's treaties with the West.

If you talk peace in Berlin you stand the chance of being denounced as a Communist; hatred and fear of everything connected with the Russians is deep and American propaganda by wireless, press and publicity is incessant.

On the other hand, there is a widespread realisation that a third world war would be a complete calamity for the people of Berlin and whatever the solution of their problems may be it certainly is not another war.

There is a big public opinion in Berlin—not theoretically pacifist—that realises the immense dangers, not only to peace but to liberty and democracy, that are implied in the creation of the new army contemplated by Dr. Adenauer.

Such an army, in spite of the assurance that it would only be a part of a European Army, would be the beginning of the Wehrmacht all over again, because the people who are mainly interested in it are the ex-soldiers who served under Hitler and held key positions under the Nazis.

There are groups of members of the Social Democratic Party, of Liberals, of Church leaders, as well as pacifists who have united in a common front, the Notgemeinschaft, to carry on an active campaign against German rearmament and the remilitarisation proposals of the Adenauer Government.

They are convinced that if rearmament were the issue at a General Election there would be a substantial majority against it even in Berlin where anti-Russian feeling is strongest.

Recently in Berlin the Notgemeinschaft held two well-attended meetings addressed by Dr. Heinemann and others. There was some organised disturbance by a group of youths—incited, it is alleged by American propaganda—but in spite of this the meetings were successful.

One heard too of American attempts to put difficulties in the way of peace organisations getting halls for meetings.

News of the Notgemeinschaft is published in a fortnightly newspaper called SOS which puts the issues clearly before the people of Berlin and which is being widely circulated.

To be openly in favour of peace and to be opposed to the American line in West Berlin requires a great deal of political courage and determination.

But it is there.

THE ATOMIC SUBMARINE

The military significance of this vessel is tremendous . . . it is a paradox that most of our progress towards the peaceful application of atomic energy has come under pressure of military necessity. . . . But we have no love of war. I hope and pray with all my heart that the day will never come when we have to use the atomic bomb. I pray that this ship, this first atomic submarine, will never have an enemy to fight.

—President Truman at the ceremonial keel-laying of the US atomic submarine Nautilis. June 14, 1952.

And he shall judge among the nations . . . and they shall beat their swords into plowshares . . . nations shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more.

—Isaiah II, 4.

A PARADOX, according to the dictionary, is "something said that is contrary to good sense but may still be true."

In examining Mr. Truman's speech when laying the foundation for the latest weapon of war, while it can doubtless be said that his remarks are contrary to good sense, it can hardly be said that they "may still be true."

Certainly it is not at all sensible to allow military pressure to force scientific progress along the path of violence and devastation, but it is not true that there has been any kind of progress at all in "the peaceful application of atomic energy."

Mr. Truman dragged in some platitudinous remarks about the atomic submarine being a demonstration of controllable energy for peace, but he gave not one instance of any positive undertaking towards controlling that energy for any peaceful purpose.

*

Equally platitudinous and meaningless in these days of war in the Far East and full scale preparation for war in the West, is the statement that the United States of America has "no love for war."

There can be very few people who "love" war, particularly war with the horrifying weapons invented by modern science, but that does not prevent them from taking part in wars, nor preparing for them. Therefore, to declare that the people of the US do not love war is not only an irrelevancy, but a bitterly stupid evasion of the facts.

It seems peculiarly futile, if not blasphemous to pray to God that there will be no need to use the new atomic submarine, and at the same time proceed with building it. It has been said that God helps those who help themselves, but it can scarcely have been meant that He would assist people in working with the devil so long as they "did their bit" towards that nefarious end themselves.

In his prayers Mr. Truman seems to have forgotten that the atom bomb has already been used, so it would seem of little avail to ask God that it shall never be used. It is to be assumed that when it was decided to drop it on Hiroshima and Nagasaki the prayers against it ever being used were abandoned, at least temporarily, for the purpose of military strategy.

It does not seem to occur to these Christian statesmen, who so glibly pray to their God to support them against the wiles of the enemy, while building up the most hideous arsenal of frightful weapons, that by so doing they imply that they are extremely uncertain that God will, in fact, be on their side.

It would be less dishonest and perhaps a more hopeful sign, if this sickening cant about making weapons for peaceful purposes was discarded; it is, of course, a symptom of the nervousness, doubt and fear at the heart of these men, who roll out their weary, overworked words and phrases, that they need to say them so often, and cannot find any new eloquence with which to disguise the flat, stale, and increasingly unprofitable lies that are required for the propaganda of war.

If we are never to have an enemy to fight it is obvious that as well as praying we must begin to think in terms of turning enemies into friends, and that will never be done by threatening them with disastrous and horrible destruction, but only by showing them we really mean peace.

If ever there was a scientific discovery that could be used wholly for peaceful purposes, atomic energy is surely the most tremendous one. On the day we start to beat that sword into a ploughshare there will be no Iron Curtain in the world that could keep out the cheerful din of its conversion. When that happens perhaps Mr. Truman's prayers will be heard.

The Church and the Conscientious Objector to war

by Rev. Albert D. Belden, DD.

THERE has always been in the main stream of Christian Church life a profound respect for the Ecumenical Councils of the Church.

It varies in degree from an attempt to obey without question the findings of certain historic Councils, by the sacerdotal Churches, Roman, Greek, Anglican, to a reverence compatible with a degree of non-acceptance of particular verdicts characteristic of the Free Churches. Even the Catholic Churches differ over certain features; but generally, the verdicts of the Ecumenical Church—that is the Church Universal, the consensus of opinion of the Church—are treated at least with respect. Certain famous early Councils spring at once to mind—Nicaea, Chalcedon, Trent, for example.

It becomes therefore a matter of first importance to the Non-Catholic Churches that the Ecumenical Councils of those Churches, Oxford 1937, and especially Amsterdam 1948, recognised the legitimacy of Christian Pacifism as one interpretation of the Gospel of Jesus Christ.

"The inescapable question"

The Amsterdam Council concentrated the combined wisdom of no less than 206 millions of Christian souls mainly of the Protestant order. Here is the clear and emphatic statement of the Amsterdam Council regarding War:

"The inescapable question arises—can War now be an act of justice?"

"We cannot answer that question unanimously but three broad positions are maintained:—

1. "There are those who hold that, even though entering a war may be a Christian's duty in particular circumstances, modern warfare, with its mass destruction, can never be an act of justice.
2. "In the absence of impartial supra-national institutions, there are those who hold that military action is the ultimate sanction of Law, and that citizens must be distinctly taught that it is their duty to defend the law if necessary.
3. **"Others again refuse military service of all kinds, convinced that an absolute witness against War, and for Peace, is for them the Will of God and they desire that the Church should speak to the same effect."**

Then comes the following important verdict:

"The Churches must continue to hold within their full fellowship all those who sincerely profess such view-points as those set out above."

End of "heresy" charge

Such a statement, following historic precedent in Christendom, should dispose once and for all in the Protestant Churches, of the charge that Christian Pacifism is a heresy, or a fanciful and crankish interpretation of the Gospel.

Strictly speaking it should be the duty of all those Christian denominations who sent their responsible leaders and delegates to Amsterdam to inform their Ministers, Clergy, Church-Officers and Members, of so important a ruling. Thus would be made impossible and irregular the shutting of pulpits and pastorates to Christian pacifist ministers and the discourtesy of intolerance and cold-shouldering to which many have been subjected.

But most important of all—it should mean that young Christian conscientious objectors who so early in life have to stand the frown of society, the coldness of their acquaintance, sometimes the opposition of their families, should receive the full respect and support of their respective Churches, their vicars, ministers and denominational leaders. Otherwise how can they be said "to be held in full fellowship of the Church?"

These young people have repeatedly to face Tribunals which are anything but impartial and are frequently insulting and unjust in their decisions. Moreover, we do not know how many young Christians suffer brutal hurt in their consciences because, lacking this encouragement to be sincere, they feel they cannot face such general opposition. Their very youth makes the most plausible excuse for their surrender to a majority opinion they secretly reject.

Spiritual authority

Finally the fact that Amsterdam 1948 recognises the Christian integrity of the pacifist conviction should be a tower of strength to the conscientious objector himself. He should never fail to quote it, and in a society that still tries to think of itself as Christian, claim the spiritual authority the Council represents.

Certainly it should silence on the lips of Tribunals any scorn of such Christian conviction or any attempt to represent it as a moral weakness, or whimsicality on the part of the objector.

The consensus of the Church should still possess enough spiritual and moral majesty to be treated with reverence by all concerned.

Pacifists to demonstrate at U.S. air base

MEMBERS of the pacifist group known as Operation Gandhi are to demonstrate at an American air base at Mildenhall in East Anglia on June 28.

They will assemble in the Market Place at 12 noon and march from there to the main gates of the US base at Beck Row, a distance of three miles.

Returning to Mildenhall Market Place they will hold an open-air meeting at 4.15 p.m.

The leaflet which they will be distributing carries a special message to US servicemen, which reads in part:

"We who give you this leaflet are some of the thousands of pacifists in Britain who are opposed to war and do not wish to have their country defended by military force.

"We are not anti-American, any more than we are "anti" any other country. We are, however, opposed to your presence in our country as members of armed forces—as we are also opposed to our own armed forces and to the conscription of British boys. . . ."

An appeal has been issued to all pacifists with cars to place them at the disposal of Operation Gandhi on June 28. Supporters will travel direct from provincial towns to Mildenhall where they will meet a contingent fom London.

Details of transport arrangements, at a minimum charge of 7s. 6d. may be obtained from 79, Lordship Park, N.16.

TRAFALGAR SQUARE — Sunday July 6 at 3 p.m.

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